

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1451

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN

DIA WASHDC/DI5/

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1227

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFOR CY TU GR

SUBJECT: CLERIDES APRIL 1 SPEECH

REF: FBIS AT 031100Z

1. SUMMARY: AN APRIL 1 SPEECH BY CLERIDES HAS DRAWN HEAVY FIRE, SOME PRAISE LOCALLY. MAIN CONTENTIOUS POINTS WERE HIS APPARENT ACCEPTANCE OF BIZONALISM, AND OPPOSITION TO "LONG-TERM STRUGGLE." PIO HAS AVOIDED COMMENT, THOUGH PRO-MAKARIOS PRESS HAS USED NAVROS, PAPANDREOU CRITICISM AGAINST CLERIDES. COMMUNIST PARTY BIDDING TIME. WE UNSURE WHY CLERIDES CHOSE THIS MOMENT TO OPEN NEW FRONT BETWEEN HIMSELF AND MAKARIOS. HE REMAINS ONLY POLITICAL LEADER WILLING TO SAY UNPLEASANT TRUTHS TO GREEK CYPRIOTS. UNCLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT THIS TRAIT WILL WORK TO HIS ADVANTAGE, THOUGH LIVELY PUBLIC DEBATE NOW ASSURED. END SUMMARY.

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2. CENTER OF PUBLIC ATTENTION IN GREEK CYPRUS SINCE

TUESDAY HAS BEEN WIDE-RANGING CLERIDES SPEECH, "IMPRESSIONS FROM THE RECENT DISCUSSION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL", TO AN INTELLECTUAL CLUB IN NICOSIA. WE HAVE NO REPEAT NOT AUTHORITATIVE TEXT. PAPERS HAVE PUBLISHED VARIANT TEXTS OF WHAT CLERIDES SAID ON KEY POINTS, PROVOKING STRONG REACTIONS FROM GREECE (REF MAVROS AND PAPANDREOU REMARKS FBIS AT 022309Z) AND CLERIDES' NUMEROUS GREEK CYPRIOT ENEMIES. FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS DISTILL MAIN POINTS OF SPEECH, AS TAKEN FROM CLERIDES' PAPER AGHON.

3. LONG-TERM STRUGGLE. APPARENTLY TAKING ISSUE WITH MAKARIOS, CLERIDES DECLARED THAT COMMITMENT TO "LONG-TERM STRUGGLE" ONLY MAKES SENSE IF ATHENS/NICOSIA NOW DECIDE TO RESORT EVENTUALLY TO ARMED CONFLICT TO EXPULSE TURKS FROM ISLAND. OTHERWISE, HE FEARED THAT SUCH "STRUGGLE" WOULD RESULT IN FREEZING OF TURK FAITS ACCOMPLISH. CLERIDES WARNED THAT, ABSENT POLITICAL SOLUTION, TURKS LIKELY IMPORT MORE PERSONNEL TO CONSOLIDATE HOLD ON 40 PERCENT CYPRUS TERRITORY AND REACTIVATE GREEK INDUSTRIES IN NORTH.

4. BIZONALISM. CLERIDES MADE SERIES OF COMMENTS IMPLYING THAT EXTENT OF LAND CEDED TO TURKS, POWERS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, STRONG INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES TRANSCENDED QUESTION OF WHETHER POLITICAL SOLUTION SHOULD BE BIZONAL OR MULTIREGIONAL. HE STRESSED IMPERATIVE TO RETURN MAJOR PORTION OF REFUGEES TO MORPHOU, FAMAGUSTA AREAS: HE ARGUED FOR "BROADER GUARANTEES" (NOT REPEAT NOT OTHERWISE SPELLED OUT) AS BEST WAY TO ASSURE FUTURE OF CYPRUS STATE. ILLUSTRATIVELY, HE POSITED 25 PERCENT AREA TO TURKS UNDER MULTIREGIONAL ARRANGEMENT VS. 20 PERCENT UNDER BIZONAL ONE. CLERIDES RHETORICAL QUESTIONS ON ISSUE LEFT HIS OWN POSITION UNCLEAR, EXCEPT THAT HE WILLING CONSIDER BIZONALISM.

5. ATHENS-NICOSIA SUMMIT. CLERIDES ARGUED THAT TIME HAD COME FOR NEW SUMMIT AT WHICH ATHENS, NICOSIA WOULD CHART FURTHER "COMMON LINE" ON WHAT TO DO IN EVENT INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS RESUME, OR DEADLOCK.

6. UNSC DEBATE. CLERIDES LECTURED AUDIENCE ON HARD FACTS ABOUT POLITICKING IN UN. HE REBUTTED LOCAL MYTHS THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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UNSC MAKES DECISIONS SIMPLY IN ORDER ENFORCE PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER. CITING RECENT UNSC DEBATE, HE DECLARED THAT SOME NONALIGNED HAD SIDED WITH TURKEY, AND THAT WESTERN STATES HAD LOBBIED AGAINST RESOLUTIONS CRITICAL OF TURKEY WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN ADVERSE TO "ALLIANCE INTERESTS." CLERIDES LABELED USG, UK POSITIONS IN DEBATE "EXTREMELY ADVERSE." AMONG WESTERN POWERS, HE SAID FRANCE HAD TAKEN BEST STAND; ITALY, THE WORST. USSR, HE CLAIMED, HAD

WORKED FOR STRONG RESOLUTION AGAINST TURKEY. CLERIDES STATED THAT TURKS HAD MADE HEADWAY IN NONALIGNED WORLD BY MANIPULATION OF RELIGIOUS ISSUE, AND CONCLUDED THAT GOC MUST CONDUCT MORE "ENLIGHTENMENT" TO COUNTER THIS TREND.

7. INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. CLERIDES DECLARED THAT SITE OF TALKS SECONDARY TO CENTRAL ROLE FOR UNSYG, PER RESOLUTION 367. HE ARGUED THAT UNSYG MUST PLAY MAJOR ROLE IN TALKS, IF POLITICAL SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO GREEK SIDE IS TO BE REALIZED.

8. USG, SECRETARY KISSINGER. CLERIDES STATED THAT USG POLICY GIVES GREATER WEIGHT TO TURKEY (IN BILATERAL MILITARY AND NATO TERMS) THAN TO GREECE. HE CONCLUDED THAT USG UNWILLING TO "FORCE" TURKS TO ACCEPT GREEK CYPRIOT VIEWS FOR FEAR OF LOSING LEVERAGE WITH ANKARA. HE FORESAW NO REPEAT NO CHANGE IN BASIC USG POLICY RE CYPRUS AS RESULT 1976 ELECTIONS. IN RESPONSE POINTED QUESTION RE CUTTING OFF "TENTACLES" OF USG, CLERIDES NOTED THAT IN SUCH EVENT ONLY GREECE AND CYPRUS WOULD REMAIN TO FACE TURKEY, AND HE HAD PERSONAL DOUBTS WHETHER GREECE PREPARED TO GO TO WAR. IMPLICATION WAS THAT CYPRUS NEEDS USG POLITICAL HELP.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1227

9. GREECE-TURKEY ARRANGEMENT. CLERIDES REJECTED ARGUMENT THAT ANKARA, ATHENS SHOULD SOLVE CYPRUS PROBLEM. HE CITED RECORD OF PAST DECADE TO SHOW THAT EACH SUCH ATTEMPT MET FAILURE, PARTLY DUE FACT THAT MTROPOLITAN GOVERNMENTS LACK DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF CYPRUS SCENE. CLERIDES ADMITTED THAT THEY "CAN" SOLVE PROBLEM, BUT ARGUED THAT RESULT WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE BEST SOLUTION FOR CYPRIOTS THEMSELVES.

10 LOCAL REALITIES. CLERIDES TOLD AUDIENCE THAT PASSAGE OF TIME WORKS AGAINST GREEK CYPRIOT CAUSE. HE CHASTISED ALL GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERS (INCLUDING HIMSELF) FOR NOT REPEAT NOT TELLING PEOPLE THE FACTS IN PAST YEARS. THIS FAILURE HAD LED TO PRESENT POLITICAL "IMMATURITY" OF GREEK CYPRUS, SUSCEPTIBILITY OF PEOPLE TO SLOGANEERING DEVOID OF REALISTIC CONTENT, AND TENDENCY TO IGNORE IMMEDIATE DANGERS DUE TO FEAR OF WHAT UNKNOWN FUTURE MIGHT HOLD. CLERIDES BLUNTLY DECLARED
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"WE ARE NOT REPEAT NOT NAVEL OF THE EARTH." OTHER NATIONS, GREAT AND SMALL, MAKE FRIENDLY DECLARATIONS BUT WHOLLY UNWILLING GIVE MILITARY AID TO ASSIST CONFRONTATION WITH TURKS.

11. CLERIDES REMARKS ON BIZONALISM, AS TRANSMITTED ABROAD, ELECITED QUICK CRITICISM FROM EK/ND LEADER MAVROS AND PASOK LEADER PAPANDREOU (FBIS REF). PIO SO FAR HAS AVOIDED COMMENT, BUT PRO-MAKARIOS PRESS HAVE PLAYED MAVROS/ PAPANDREOU REMARKS PROMINENTLY. MOST VENOMOUS RETORT CAME FROM OLD FOE, VASSOS LYSSARIDES, WHOSE PAPER TA NEA BRANDED CLERIDES' VIEWS UNACCEPTABLE, OUT OF PHASE WITH ATHENS-NICOSIA LINE. TA NEA IN EFFECT ACCUSED CLERIDES OF BETRAYING "WEAKNESSES" (I. E., RE BIZONALISM, "STRUGGLE") IN GREEK CYPRIOT POSITION TO TURKS, AND REMINDED READERS OF CLERIDES ALLEGED COLLABORATION WITH JUNTA, SAMPSON REGIME.

12. OTHER CAMPS MORE CAUTIOUS SO FAR. FAR-RIGHT PATRIS HAS SUPPORTED CLERIDES' CALL FOR SUMMIT MEETING, IGNORED OTHER ISSUES IN SPEECH. COMMUNIST HARAVGHI TOOK EXTREMELY CAREFUL LINE, SUPPORTED CALL FOR SUMMIT, BACK-HANDEDLY PRAISED CLERIDES FOR STARTING REALISTIC DIALOGUE, BUT AVOIDED SPECIFIC COMMENT (PRO OR CON) ON OTHER POINTS.

13. COMMENT. RIPPLES FROM CLERIDES' SPEECH WILL BE BROAD, AND CONTINUE FOR SOME WHILE. WE ARE TOLD THAT

APRIL 2 NATIONAL COUNCIL DISCUSSED HIS SPEECH CRITICALLY, THOUGH NO ANNOUNCEMENT MADE. COMMUNIST AKEL IS AWAITING ITS CUE FROM FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS, BUT PRIVATELY ITS SPOKESMAN (CONSTANTINOU) DOES NOT REPEAT NOT TAKE ISSUE WITH SPEECH.

14. CLERIDES REMAINS ONLY GREEK CYPRIOT POLITICIAN WILLING, FROM TIME TO TIME, TO SAY THE UNSAYABLE TO GREEK CYPRIOTS. THIS REGARD, APRIL 1 SPEECH STRONGLY REMINISCENT OF HIS ARGO GALLERY SPEECH OF LAST NOVEMBER. WHY CLERIDES CHOSE THIS OCCASION TO REOPEN FRONT AGAINST MAKARIOS IS QUESTION WE CANNOT ANSWER AT THIS TIME: COMBINATION OF FRUSTRATION, PIQUE, AND OPPORTUNISM MAY BE BEST ANSWER. THOUGH STORM OF DISCUSSION WILL ENSUE, DIFFICULT TO ASSESS IMPACT ON PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT OR ON CLERIDES' OWN POSITION.
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15. CLERIDES REMARKS RE USG REINFORCE DUALITY OF HIS APPROACH IN NEW YORK, WHERE HE SAID NICE THINGS TO USG REPS DIRECTLY BUT TELEPHONED NASTIER IMPRESSIONS FOR AGHON TO PUBLISH LOCALLY. END COMMENT.
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